/423 cont./

*511 362 427 It would be beyond our purpose to go into the problem of living conditions, since only budgets are in question here and not the standard of living in general. Let us state only that the desire to be the owner of one's home is legitimate if one examines the high cost of rent, and above all the portion of the income that its payment requires: 12% for No. 1, whose income is 5,800 francs (two rooms in a plank hut with a metal roof, where 13 persons are crowded together); 12.6% for No. 2; 14% for No. 16, etc.... The percentages noted after No. 26 are more normal, and the dwellings are more comfortable. But the incomes are from four to ten times higher.

*511 467 We have shown on the same table the percentages calculated for the syndical assessment, the cost of which is the same for everyone in the same syndicate (300 or 350 francs, depending on the syndicate), in order to show the cost, low on the whole, that they represent: one goes down in decreasing order from 0.4%, which is not negligible, to 0.09%, which is significant. No. 43 is a member of the syndicate of doctors, for which the assessment is higher.

*511 After rice, the clothing heading is the most important among many families. Some will be surprised at this, if they are not familiar with the cities of Senegal. Others would be expecting this result.

Table XIV[1] gives us the details for this heading, family by /424/ /Table XIII appears here/ /425/ family. The first verification shown is that the number of families exceeding 10% of the income is larger at the top of the table, where a deficit exists, than at the bottom. Should one conclude from this that they have decided to satisfy their reputed liking for clothing at any price?

The percentages are misleading; it is better for us to give some information on the absolute values.

From No. 1 to No. 10, none of these families devoted more than 10,000 francs to clothing in one year. No. 29 spent

1 [See cat 116, pp 66-67. ANALYST]

4: Mersadier--62 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

Table XIII

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndical Assessment
1	Laborer	5,800	--	12	0.4
2	Orderly	6,100	4.0	--	0.4
3	Laborer	6,500	2.0	--	--
4	Laborer	6,700	--	12.6	0.3
5	Orderly	6,745	4.0	--	0.3
6	Mattress-maker	7,000	1.0	--	--
7	Laborer	7,000	1.7	11.4	0.4
8	Orderly	7,410	2.0	--	0.5
9	Baker	7,500	1.1	--	--
10	Cultivator	8,150	1.2	--	--
11	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	2.6	--	0.2
12	Laborer	9,000	3.4	--	0.2
13	Laborer	9,800	1.7	--	0.2
14	Cultivator	10,000	1.8	--	--
15	Laborer	10,000	3.1	7.5	--
16	Auxiliary	10,675	0.9	14	0.2
17	Auxiliary	10,800	2.1	--	0.2
18	Spec. laborer	11,000	1.1	--	0.2
19	Accountant	11,950	2.0	4.1	0.3
20	Auxiliary	12,000	1.3	--	0.2
21	Clerk	13,000	3.2	--	0.1
22	Auxiliary	14,000	1.3	--	0.1
23	Cultivator	15,000	5.0	--	--
24	Cultivator	15,000	1.6	--	--
25	Auxiliary D. N.	15,630	1.6	--	0.1
26	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	1.7	9.5	0.1
27	Shoemaker	16,200	3.4	--	--
28	Worker D. N.	22,000	4.5	--	0.1
29	Police sargeant	22,000	1.4	1.3	--

/424 cont./ Table XIII (cont.)

*511 427 65 467

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndidal Assessment
30	Weigher	24,000	1.6	--	0.1
31	Carpenter	25,000	1.3	--	0.1
32	Cultivator	25,000	0.7	--	--
33	Chauffeur	25,000	2.5	4	0.1
34	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	1.4	6	0.09
35	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	1.6	3.7	0.09
36	Private accountant	34,000	1.4	--	--
37	Truck-gardener	36,000	1.4	--	--
38	Jeweler	50,000	0.4	4	--
39	Teacher	51,000	1.1	--	--
40	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	1.1	--	0.09
41	Head employee D.N.	55,500	1.4	1.8	--
42	Chief worker	56,000	0.9	--	--
43	Doctor	81,000	3.2	--	0.2

*511 /425 cont./ 9,300 francs; No. 1, 8,000 francs. From No. 11 to No. 23, we exceed 15,000 francs only once (19).

These two groups nearly correspond, on the one hand, to the group of monthly incomes from 5,000 to 10,000 francs and, on the other hand, to the group from 10,000 to 15,000 francs. For the latter, the maximum to be devoted to clothing would thus be equal to a month's income. The figure may seem reasonable, but the proportion is very great for budgets systematically having a deficit. It is true that many do not

[291 292 796]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 they were made agents of the Administration and responsi-
[631] ble for the enforcement of the corvée when required. The harshness of this authoritarian rule, escaped only by the *evolués* in the other territories, has been vividly described by Geoffrey Gorer in *Africa Dances*, which records a long tour made through French West Africa in the mid-thirties. Even so in 1930 France had signed the Geneva Act for-
[466] bidding forced labour in the colonies; but it was slow to disappear. In 1937 the right to form trade unions, which
[467] hitherto was only granted to Senegalese citizens by a law of 1920, was extended in a restricted form to the *sujets*. That same year a new decree allowed easier conditions for the acquisition of French citizenship by the *sujets*. Out of a population of 1,800,000 in 1936 there were 78,000 citizens compared with some 2,400 in the rest of French West Africa. And in 1939 the *sujets* were granted the right of
[666] electing some of their representatives to the Colonial Council instead of being represented only by nominees of the Administration.

641 This newly acquired right was enjoyed for a very brief
648 period. For in 1940 the authoritarian element in France came to the fore in particularly unhappy circumstances with the fall of France and the establishment of the Vichy Government. Under the Vichy regime, racism manifested itself openly for the first time. This was particularly embittering for the Senegalese élite since they had been much in sympathy with the Popular Front Government which attempted liberal experiments in Algeria and Syria. All Senegalese representative institutions were suppressed. Priority was given to Europeans in rationed goods and in many other spheres. Liberty of association was withdrawn from both races, and whilst European members of the resistance were rarely hanged, Africans themselves rarely escaped the supreme penalty. By contrast in France the future President of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor, was fighting in the French resistance and was later interned in a German concentration camp.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

flats and villas are usually beyond the range of the African purse though the difference is being eliminated by the accession of Senegalese, immediately prior to and in particular since independence, to high administrative posts and today there is no real residential separation. Many Europeans live in housing estates built primarily for Africans and not a few live in the Medina or main African quarter. Some trade unions are divided on racial lines between Africans and Europeans, largely because the European workers are skilled technicians and there are even to this day few Africans trained in most of the industrial work done by Europeans.

Nevertheless there are certain cases of bitterness between Africans and Europeans over the question of equal pay for equal work. Though the basic principle is that both groups should be paid the same rate for the same kind of work, the European in many cases gets an expatriation addition of up to two-fifths of his basic salary. This is not true of all classes of work. For instance shop girls in Printania, a local version of Woolworth's, earn the same pay whether white or black though of course the European staff are recruited locally from wives and daughters of Frenchmen working in Dakar. It is surely a healthy sign that Europeans and Africans can work together on equal terms and that Europeans can occupy what in Europe would be considered very humble positions.

One does not detect amongst the French in Senegal any very strong feeling for or against the African. Where any form of racism does manifest itself it is mainly at the level of the artisan worker or the *petit blanc*, a term generally used to describe the poorer white community of small shopkeepers, clerks, mechanics and skilled workers. When the Senegalese are confronted by outbursts of racism from members of this group they are usually inclined to return the abuse in kind, for the Senegalese are naturally an immensely proud people and have very little feeling of racial inferiority. Close contact with a French community

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

live whilst waiting to find work; it permits those who are ill, those incapable of work, and those without resources to be taken care of and not die of hunger.'

Probably the most important barrier to the accumulation of capital has been Senegal's dependence on a one-crop economy of ground-nuts. The method of cultivation of ground-nuts and their comparatively low price per ton have worked against the creation of large scale plantations, for instance of cocoa and coffee, which have supplied individual entrepreneurs in the Western Region of Nigeria, in Ghana and in the Ivory Coast with their capital.

These are all factors to set against a situation which otherwise might be explosive. Africanisation has always been a problem in the Senegal and it has increased as the number of professionally trained Africans has increased. But historically, and even today, it has been most acute in the Administration, employment in which is the goal of most young Senegalese. Thus very often commerce is left with the second best. Even so French commercial houses have done far less comparatively to train up an efficient African subaltern class, let alone a managerial élite, than say a company like the United Africa Company in Nigeria. And whilst Senegal was under French control the Administration did very little indeed to encourage Africanisation of commerce.

The present day Senegalese Government, however, recognises the danger of the present position and its efforts to rectify the situation should not be interpreted as a new form of racism but as an honest attempt to maintain the present excellent racial situation. Though the Government has placed many limitations on the autonomy of the trade unions it could not for long suppress criticism of the present structure of Dakar, particularly as Senegal, like all African countries, is subject to propaganda from every quarter. The truth is that there are far too many Europeans doing jobs that Africans could do. In small tea rooms it is not rare to be served by a French girl, for this tea shop is in

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

goal of return to their tribal home, even Toucouleur, find it more difficult to resist the pressures of their environment, and Dakar has a large number of permanent settlers, who are first and foremost *Dakarois*.

Many of these have found a common brotherhood above tribe in their trade unions. These, despite various setbacks and restrictions, have been well organised in Senegal. Indeed the 1944 decree restoring liberty of association did much to ensure this, by insisting that trade union officials should have good educational qualifications and that accounts should be scrutinised by the administration. Most of the unions belonged to one of the large French confederations from whom they received considerable help and advice. Since Senegal has until quite recently had over 40 per cent of the organised workers of French West Africa, trade unionism embraced a large number of people of different ethnic groups brought together to seek ends that went far beyond the limited horizons of tribal ambition.

The influence of the towns extends beyond their limits. Both in the cities, and increasingly in the villages, young men who have come in contact with the new life of Dakar or of the other major towns tend to contract monogamous marriages in the European style. Amongst the Diola, as L. V. Thomas has observed, young men are now building their own houses outside the parental extended home. But probably most important of all in the breakdown of tribal barriers is the increase of economic individualism, the desire to have possessions, and particularly good clothes, all of which run contrary to the traditional social system which leads to the maximum dispersion of a man's gains amongst his relatives.

Only the very strongest survive the effect of the city, in particular a city like Dakar, the most sophisticated, the most European, the city most diametrically opposed to the tribal life of the bush. Indeed among Dakar's inhabitants only the Moors and Toucouleur really withstand the

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[1] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[2]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere, it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organized at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

1. Their functions are hereditary.
2. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
3. In this case, groundnuts.
4. The economic role of the Mouride brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
5. The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 5,000 Lebanese.
6. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

6;Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
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178 591 masses, it found in the 'colonial elite' the go-between it needed for the resumption of contact to which it aspired.

The activity of this new elite is beginning to be discernible in its political and trade union work, and its basic aspirations can be defined. As has already been said, a Western-type political life was introduced fairly early in one part of Senegal. Political parties were formed; after 1946, their influence extended throughout the territory. In a recent paper[1] we stated that they had become, in the 'four communes', an almost traditional part of the social system. Once they reached the whole of Senegal, they acquired an enormous body of followers, the divisions among whom reflected successively—or simultaneously, according to the district—a number of historical, social, ethnic and family rifts. Thus, the antagonism between the Socialist party and the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais, which has been a salient factor over recent years, did but reproduce according to time and place, the antagonism between former 'citizens' and former 'subjects', Ouolof and non-Ouolof, Moslems and Catholics, one Moslem sect and another, etc. On the whole, the 'colonial elite' has assumed the leadership of these parties.[2] But recent surveys have shown that, in the urban centres at any rate, membership in a political party might be commoner among the illiterate elements than among the 'educated'. This is a clear indication of the gap between the political parties and the present ambitions of the elites. A strongly held local position or the prestige of certain leaders is the reason why the traditional parties, though ill adapted to the present situation, have succeeded in keeping afloat. However, the waning influence of the Socialist party (the oldest organized party) was the sign after 1950 of the start of a new phase. The young elite from the liberal professions, followed by numerous young members of the 'colonial elite', remained markedly aloof from these movements, which seemed to afford no opportunity for the political action in which they intended to engage. Their sympathies went to a movement of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain type, although they were unable to impose it because of the strong positions held by the traditional parties. Yet some of the more influential members of this young elite finally decided to join the Senegalese party which seemed to have the strongest hold over the popular masses, the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.[3] There, they will doubtless play an important role. The point has been reached at which the new elite is seeking to take over the torch from the 'colonial elite', but with political ambitions of a much more radical nature; I shall consider later the ideological aspects of the problem. In the case of the trade unions, the position is slightly different. Their activity,[4] of recent origin, soon acquired deeper significance. The more energetic elements of the 'administrative bourgeoisie', in alliance with the still small working-class elite, embarked in the trade unions on a course of action which was more directly effective than that of the political parties.[5] The climate of thought, directly or indirectly influenced by theories of Marxist origin, favoured the growth of an awareness of the 'colonial situation'. In this respect, however, the new intellectual elite played

665 178 591 [369] 460 178 591 [113]

1. Cf. P. Mercier, *An Experimental Investigation conducted by means of Questionnaires in the town of Dakar*, report presented to the Conference on the Social Impact of Industrialization and Urban Problems, organized by Unesco at Abidjan, 1954.
2. As have, needless to say, certain members of an elite formed from the liberal professions, which had already emerged before the war.
3. In which they represent the 'left' wing.
4. Most of the unions are affiliated to the trade union federations in France.
5. And more resolutely moderate in its outlook.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

only a limited, and very indirect, part. Between this group and the working-class elite certain persisting tensions can be descried; a survey among the younger members—students, young workers—has brought to light more or less radical divergencies. However, the new elite is trying to extend its activity to the trade union sphere. A confederation of African workers independent of the organizations in metropolitan France has recently been founded, in which the young intellectual elite will apparently be extremely influential. This would be the counterpart of its entry into organized political action. In another domain, significant changes are occurring: the 'cultural associations' have a much more important role than their name would imply.[1] These are made up of the intellectual elite (in the widest sense in which I have used this term), which seeks by these means to avoid being relegated to a position of isolation, to acquire greater influence in the education of the people—e.g. through theatrical representations in one of the local languages—and to rediscover the highways of traditional African culture.

It is the new elite that has given expression to this desire for a 'return to the fountain-head'. A reaction, against assimilationist policies has appeared. From the acceptance of assimilation characteristic of he preceding generation opinion turned first to less sharply defined positions—typified by the slogan 'assimilate, don't be assimilated'—and then to attitudes of refusal, the details of which are still not very clear. Such attitudes accompany a lush ideological growth, to which only a very brief reference can be given here. It is not exempt from inconsistency; it is intertwined with growths of very different origin, sometimes hostile to each other. The only point at which all these ideologies concur is that they one and all are the expression of an intense reaction against colonialism—and obviously against the policy of assimilation—and serve as a basis for a growing 'nationalism'.[2] I will mention only the following points: the revival of African cultures and the affirmation of the common elements in a pan-African or, more generally, a Negro culture; the development of a veritable mythology around the notion of 'Negrohood'[3] and of a sort of 'counter-racism', the end-result of which is to shut the door on the outside world—i.e. primarily the Western world; the reinterpretation of history through a reversal of the perspective, a method applied not only to the history of the slave trade and the colonial period, but to the whole history of Africa as well;[4] the forging from Marxist theories of an ideological battering ram, to be used in a specifically African anti-colonial drive. The results of all these efforts make rapid headway throughout the 'educated' classes.[5]

The above picture is unavoidably only an incomplete outline. I have merely sought to bring out the importance of the present transitional phase and its characteristic processes. A new intellectual elite is taking up the torch from the 'colonial elite' which in Senegal had already succeeded in gaining appreciably greater influence than in the other French West African territories; there has been no break between them. And yet tensions and possibilities of conflict exist. Nevertheless, the conscious search for points of contact with

1. The study of political problems is a particularly important part of their activity.
2. In the African context, this term is used very broadly, to cover all anti-colonial movements.
3. The review *Présence Africaine* offers many examples of articles showing the influence of this idea.
4. The recent book by Cheikh Anta Diop, *Nations Nègres et Culture* (Negro nations and culture), Paris, 1955, is a highly significant example of what is being done on these lines.
5. There are still more trends, but they indicate a change of outlook which will probably become deeper with time.

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P. 3A]
[P.2 contains no textual material]

Political Life in the Urban Centers of Senegal: A Study of a Period of Transition

Senegal and Sudan presently comprise the Mali Federation, which is in the process of achieving sovereignty within the French Community. Senegal itself is one of the most urbanized West African regions, and its cities have been characterized by a gradual growth of modern political life. The author presents some major findings on its urban political activity, based on extensive interviews made in the mid-1950's. The oldest urban elite, almost entirely assimilated into the French way of life, has been only partially successful in developing party organizations that satisfy the interests of the newer urban residents. As a consequence, the most active and radical post-war political activity has been centered in "non-political" bodies, notably labor unions. Also, urban political activity has been increasingly challenged by rural political developments, which have drawn their framework from urban politics. African specialists will note that Senegalese political development has much in common with such development elsewhere in Africa; it also has a number of distinctive features.

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8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 problem of the "old cities" is again relevant. In them, such reactions can remain unorganized or marginal longer in relation to the official forms of political expression. We shall see that this is typical of certain Senegalese cities.

668 Furthermore, some reactions are born and expressed in a much larger framework than that of political life in its strictest sense of party activity. Demands for justice in the colonial situation can be expressed on different planes and in different fields. In South Africa, for example, Africans are largely barred from social and political action, and the chief demands emerge in religious activities.[7] Elsewhere, political life may not be forbidden, but its forms of expression are limited, either openly or in fact—for instance, by means of a judicial system in which people cannot file a case. Thus, the [467] most radical demands are formulated not within the framework of parties — at least, in their official platforms — but in that of unions or other associations. Attitudes, behaviors, and ideologies are formed in such organizations, pending the possibility of full expression at the political level. In the urban centers of Senegal some of the most important popular forces, at least prior to the great transformations that began in 1956, were to be found outside parties.

The Growth of Rural Political Life

369 668 These fundamental demands of the urban population provide models for similar demands that spread from the cities into rural districts. The general preponderance of the cities in political initiative is mentioned above. They are both centers of attraction and centers for the diffusion of foreign influences. An im-

[P.5 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 most vigorous associations, by an investi-
575 gation of the topics discussed by the study groups that they created, and of the content of the discussion.[47] By considering such questions as teaching and the language for teaching, the organization of local communities, economic development, interracial marriages, etc., their study of the political problems resulting from the colonial situation had wide influence.

As for the Youth Council of Senegal,
[369] which comprised the majority of youth associations and was organized primarily in the cities, the orientation of its activity was even clearer. By the nature of its conflicts with the civil administration, by the content of its demands in behalf of youth, by the topics related to the future of youth whose study it was undertaking, it disclosed a "nationalist" potential of some vigor.

It is essential to note the possible role of associations founded on ethnic or territorial bases, in particular those inspired by youths. Centers for contact with territories other than Senegal, they spread
[665] the foreign political influence of the parties predominating within them. This seemed to be the case, for instance, of the grouping of Senegalese youths with relation to the R.D.A. However, these associations were never directly linked with a given partisan organization. The political role that they might temporarily play was very flexible and therefore somewhat indeterminate.

Labor Unions

• 467 Labor unions should receive especial attention. The union movement in French West Africa is numerically one of the most important, and among the most active, in all of sub-Sahara Africa.
[665] Like the political parties, it took form only in the immediate post-war period.
[P. 16A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 In 1954 it had a membership about 100,-
000, or a little less than one-third of all
wage-earners. The unions have reached
[369] their greatest development in Senegal,
especially in the large cities. In 1954
this territory contained more than half
the union members in French West
Africa, more than a third of all Sene-
galese wage-earners. Dakar has a central
role in this field. It is the headquarters
for the largest unions, which were once
affiliated with French federations but
are now autonomous. Dakar also pos-
sesses a very active "Labor Exchange."
By itself it contains more than two-fifths
of the union members in Senegal.

467 To some extent the significance of
668 the unions is more than occupational
[667] and economic. The degree to which they
complete the political machinery of the
[665] city is suggested by a comparison of the
percentages of party memberships with
the percentages of union memberships.
Of 1,200 persons interrogated during the
Dakar survey noted above, about one-
half (52 per cent) stated they were
union members. The potential ambiguity
of such statements was suggested above
in connection with political parties.[48]
However, an analysis of the respondents
by socio-occupational categories gave
meaningful results. The average rate of
union membership was surpassed by
lower-ranking office-workers and govern-
ment employees, higher-ranking office-
workers and government employees, and
professional people; it was equalled by
semi-skilled workers. With the exception
[665] of the first, these are precisely the cate-
gories whose rates of party membership
were lowest. On the other hand, partici-
pation in union activity was distinctly
more important among the categories
comprising the intellectual elements than

[P. 16 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[47] We acknowledge our indebtedness to the cultural associations for inviting us to participate in their study groups.

[48] Respondents claiming membership in a union often were behind in the payment of their dues, or only heeded the directives of the union without having joined it. Hence the number of union members, so far as it can be estimated from the general survey, is much higher than that given by the unions themselves. The deviations shown for the different categories are more marked than the raw figures of the general survey indicate; the categories with the highest percentages of union members were those in which the exactness of the responses was the greatest, as later samplings emphasized.

[p. 16 c]

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467 668 among the semi-skilled workers. The situation was reversed at Thiès, but because of the large Dakar-Niger Railroad [498] shops there, this city is an exceptional case. The traits found at Dakar, by contrast, proved characteristic of unionism in French West Africa. The overall figures, obtained from official sources based on statements by unions, indicated clearly that manual occupations were the least unionized. Out of the 100,000 union members in French West Africa in [647] 1954, more than half were either government officials or government employees. The rate of unionization in the governmental sector was nearly double that in the non-governmental sector. Finally, in the two sectors together, semi-skilled workers comprised only a little more than a fourth of all union members. Furthermore, results of the studies at Dakar and Thiès suggest that union membership and level of schooling correlate rather closely; this was far from the [665] case with respect to party membership, at least at Dakar. To what degree did unionism offer educated individuals a means of expression that, in the period studied, parties did not offer them? Educated persons, especially youths, were more susceptible to extremist anti-colonial aspirations. And to what degree could union action present itself more clearly as a trial postponement for the existing order than action within the framework of parties?

The particular traits of union struggle markedly demonstrate the fundamental conflicts of the colonial situation. One cannot accurately speak of the "politization" of unions, in the sense many government officials give this term. The [665] limited activities of parties and the very conditions of unionism in a colonial situation have given unionism a marked political coloring.

(1) Interviews of militant unionists,
[P. 17A]

467 668 focussing on some of their asserted policies, revealed that the union struggle was regarded as directed essentially against the government. This must be interpreted not only with regard to the general traits of the colonial system but also in relation to the commanding role that the government played in labor. It was first of all the principal employer: in a city [369] such as Dakar, a little more than a third of the wage-earners were dependent upon it. It was responsible for setting the [465] minimum wage, and it has happened that owing to budgetary considerations and general policy it established a lower figure than non-governmental employers might have adopted. Finally, during the period [466] in question, a central problem was that of enforcing the Code of Overseas Labor, enacted by Parliament in 1952. The civil administration was responsible for its enforcement, and the strikes of 1953 were [468] designed to bring pressure on the administration so as to obtain a "fair enforcement" of its provisions. In the interviews mentioned above, conflicts with employers were scarcely mentioned as such. Employers were identified with the civil administration; the terms "civil administration" and "colonialism" seemed almost interchangeable. The adversary of the unions being essentially the civil administration — and a "colonial civil administration" — their action inevitably assumed political significance, broadly defined.[49]

467 668 563 (2) In the field of union activities the hostility between the European component and the African component of the urban population showed itself most vividly. This stemmed not merely from the fact that the civil administration and the employers represented the power of the "whites." It was also noteworthy that European workers, employees, and [468] officials almost invariably formed separate unions, with goals sharply opposed to

[P. 17 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[49] This struggle against the civil administration was not confined to local matters. It was affected by events at Paris, both administrative and parliamentary. The use of political precedents seems very clear here. They sometimes brought success, as was the case in the enforcement of the provisions of the Labor Code regarding the hours of work.

[P. 114]

[246] 668 46-1

467 468 668 563 those of the African unions.[50] The acute crises produced by certain important strikes gave forceful expression to this rift. The African unions, despite their ideological differences, despite the personal rivalries that brought their leaders into opposition, often engaged in combined and coordinated activities. By contrast, the strikes of the African workers and those of the European workers scarcely ever coincided, though the latter might break out as a response to the [465] former in an effort to maintain the hierarchy of salary scales. As demonstrations of African unity against the civil [578] administration and against European controls in general, strikes were the only occasion in which the underlying tension characterizing the city appeared distinctly and in a generalized fashion. It was because they expressed this tension that their impact and the emotional response to them were so important.

467 468 668 (3) This was also the principal cause of their ultimate success. During such conflicts, demands were expressed that were far more extreme than those made by the parties. Thus, in the strikes of 1953, the union press and the union leaders evoked the possibility that African "loyalism" would be suspended and that the bonds between France and the Overseas Territories would be changed; the question of independence was openly and threateningly discussed. Union activities assumed a certain nationalistic coloring that the parties at that time disregarded. Behind every limited demand regarding salaries or the regulation of working conditions lay the fundamental anti-colonial demand; it was this demand that gave weight to the mass demonstrations and that carried the day.[51] 467 668 It must be further noted that during this period major external ideological elements entered the contest, especially through the unions. An important number of their activists had studied techniques of organization,

[P. 18A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

both in France and in other countries. Participation in international congresses put them in contact with the ideological currents of the world. A study of the union press was very revealing in this regard.

To the masses, unions proposed goals that were, in the period under consideration, far different from those of the political parties. Unions were in many ways more systematic and more vigorous. They were much less apt to make differentiations along ethnic, religious, or other lines. The unity of action that they practiced banned their assimilating such hostilities and conflicts, whose meaning was foreign to them. These hostilities yielded before the fundamental hostility brought out by union action. The near-unanimity with which the directives of the union have been followed is very significant. For the elites, on the other hand, unions offered, in an era in which the forms and matrices of customary political expression appeared too narrow, a wider and more adequate field of action. Unionism supplied the most accessible agencies for sharing in power of the modern sort. The intellectual elites furnished the substance of the union framework and played a dominant role on their executive committees.[52] Located at the very center of situations of tension and conflict, they found in union activities the most effective way of asserting modern views and of surmounting the limits barring their advancement in the political and occupational fields.

Developments Since 1956

Such were the chief aspects, in a period of transition, of the political life of the large Senegalese urban centers. In the subsequent four years, great changes have occurred. Senegalese political individuality — considerably modified by that of the "old cities" — has remained clear, but it has in great part shifted to

[P. 18 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[50] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Aspects des problemes de stratification sociale," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.* XVIII, 1954.
[51] A scrutiny of union publications in 1953 made this evident.
[52] In a very broad sense; their composition was very heterogeneous and drawn from various strata.

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668 change. The vast increase in the num-
369 ber of Europeans, their greater occupa-
[563] tional diversification, the much stronger reaction to the facts of discrimination, and multiplication of competitive situations — occupational or otherwise — are the most obvious phases of this major phenomenon.[54]

As these factors have come into full operation, a new phase of political life has opened. These are its principal traits:

668 (1) From 1956 on, in unions and in
665 politics, secessions from the original
● [467] French bodies — confederations or parties — have multiplied. Previous remarks indicated the development of this process among unions. After some delay it affected the S.F.I.O. itself, which was transformed, not without difficulties, into the African Socialist Movement. The assimilationist tradition declined, or at least was no longer proclaimed openly. After the parties became autonomous, the distinction between direct and indirect forms of political expression began to disappear. Extremist demands of a nationalistic character found expression within the parties, and worked effectively there after 1957 (at the time when the new "organic law" authorized the first Senegalese government).

(2) To a certain degree, the very old Senegalese political tradition once more became a driving force. At the same time the marginal elements, whose exist-
[571] ence was particularly marked among intellectuals, entered into real politics, chiefly within the framework of the B.D.S. They comprised the left wing of the new Senegalese Populist Bloc (B.P.S.), which stemmed from the B.D.S., and shared in the creation of the African Convention, which is striving to extend outside Senegal the strictly autonomous orientations of the B.D.S. They tried to organize the B.D.S. as a

17: Mercier--17 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

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> differences in the daily rhythm are the arguments put forward by those who do not use purely racist arguments.

fact on the differences in economic status.

c) In principle there is no segregation in social life, either; certain public places, however (cafés, bars, etc.), strive directly or indirectly, to secure for themselves a purely European clientele. On the other hand, many clubs and associations of a recreational nature exclude Africans in fact (it is rarely statutory). The syndicates themselves, although they are not in principle founded on a racial basis, do not effect a mixing of Africans and Europeans, as a result of the divergence of interests and claims; the strikes, when they occur, are in practice purely African. Finally, the political parties are for the most part almost exclusively African; the European population as a whole is disinterested in local political activity. [575] [467] [468] [665]

d) Essentially the relations between Africans and Europeans are: relations at the place of work, between colleagues and, much more often, between subordinates and superiors, employees and bosses; relations between masters and domestics at home; common participation in cultural and sportive activities; relations between teachers and pupils or students. Relations of a more personal character (regular relationships, friendships, etc.) are much rarer. Intermarriages -- almost exclusively between African men and European women -- have a particular significance; there are practically none that have been contracted locally.

/20/ e) Here we shall not touch on the area of interracial judgments and attitudes, which must be the subject of more detailed investigations. It will suffice to say that all the observations made permit one to conclude that there is a

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369 177 563 [584] [593] [182] families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid [177] [467] [474] diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed [468] railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have [162] seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal M537
Dakar

Trade

Imports and Exports. Dakar is the outlet for almost the whole of French West Africa north of the forest. In particular it serves the most fertile and prosperous parts of Senegal and French Sudan. The principal export is, of course, ground-nuts, and others are gold, gum, shea butter, kapok, and hides. Imports include manufactured goods of all kinds, coal, oil fuel, wine, sugar, and flour. In 1937 imports totalled 1,298,700 tons to the value of 763,200,000 francs (£6,134,060) and exports 1,284,300 tons to the value of 572,300,000 francs (£4,599,740). This represents some 40 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation.

Manufactures. In or near the town are brickworks, a brewery, candle factories, charcoal furnaces, ice factories, sisal cleaning plants, sack factories, saw-mills, and factories for extracting ground-nut oil. There are also native handicraft workers. West of the town there are two basalt quarries, which are connected to the harbour by a railway line.

There are several trade unions.

Finance. The Port of Dakar has its own budget. In 1938 this balanced at 10,792,486 francs (£66,212). The principal items of revenue were the dues on the loading and discharge of cargo, which brought in 4,150,000 francs, the dues paid by ships, which brought in 1,566,000 francs, and the charges for the use of port equipment, which brought in 1,115,700 francs. The principal items of expenditure were 4,912,166 francs on wages and salaries of employees and 2,551,770 francs on the materials used in the maintenance of the port.

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the harbour there is good anchorage in 10 fathoms. Inside depths are greater, and there is space for a large number of vessels.

Quays and Wharfs. The main basins of the harbour are divided off from Goree bay and Dakar Roads by the North Jetty. This runs south-eastwards from the shore for nearly 1,200 yards and then turns southwards for its last 550 yards. Here are found the oil berths, and at the end of it is a light. Three moles project from the landward side of the main jetty. Behind No. 5 Mole, the nearest to the land, there is a large open space used for storing dumps of ground-nuts (Vol. I, Plate 84). This end of the harbour is a seaplane base, with a hangar on the shore. On the north-west side there are some